and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children -- went altogether naked.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 [186] that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah. Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

342 [361] Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the men's house, or *eksé*. The former have rectangular ground-plans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauarí* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

361 345 The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

361 487 Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities, except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste. 361 487

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily. 312 [515]

The village is in open country, but large expanses of deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how- 361 487 [482] 311 361 [161]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well-weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.